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TABLE 13.—*Fertility of Cherán women*[1]

Number of births per woman	Number of women	Living children per woman	Number of women	Deceased children per woman	Number of women	Male births per woman	Number of women	Female births per woman	Number of women	Male children living per woman	Number of women	Female children living	Number of women
1	1	0	2	0	4	1	8	1	13	1	17	1	18
2	6	1	13	1	14	2	20	2	7	2	15	2	15
3	8	2	7	2	13	3	10	3	17	3	6	3	3
4	5	3	18	3	6	4	6	4	8	4	1	4	1
5	10	4	3	4	3	5	6	5	3	5	.....	5	0
6	10	5	3	5	3	6	1	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
7	4	6	0	6	2	7	4	7	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
8	3	7	1	7	2	8	0	8	0	.....	.....	.....	.....
9	4	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(Average) 5.3 per woman		(Average) 2.7 per woman											

[1] Based on interviews with 83 women past child-bearing age. In the data on male and female births, the sex of 3 children was not remembered.

TABLE 14.—*Deaths by age groups in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Age in years	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Under 1 year	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	4	4	1	1	2	2	4	6	8	10	1	2	2	4	1	2	3	2	4	1	1	3	1	5	1	3	1	2	3	4	20	45	23	12	100
1- 9	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	3	4	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	2	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	3	3	4	20	53	18	15	106
10-19	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	16	9	4	41
20-29	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
30-39	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
40-49	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
50-59	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
60-69	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
70-79	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
80-89	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
90+	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	17	14	4	47
Total	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	36	36	36	36	144

TABLE 15.—*Deaths according to sex in 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940*
MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Sex	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Male	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	23	27	26	16	92
Female	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	24	24	24	24	96
Total	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	36	36	36	36	144

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TABLE 16.—*Causes of death in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

Cause of death	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
Pulmonía (pneumonia)	1	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	2	1	3	2	2	..	1	1	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	11	14	11	6	42
Difteria (diphtheria)	1																																											1	0	0	0	1
Decrepitud (senility)	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	6	4	3	2	15
Fiebre (fever)	..	2	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	9	3	5	3	20
Tos ferina (whooping cough)	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	3	..	..	1	..	6	7	11	10	16	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	32	3	0	36
Bilis (bile)	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	2	1	1	1	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	2	3	2	11	7	13	12	43
Herida (wounds)	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	12	4	0	19
Disintería (dysentery)	..	1	..	1	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	1	..	1	3	1	..	1	1	1	..	2	3	7	10	0	20
Paludismo (malaria)	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	3	0	2	4	12
Bronquitis (bronchitis)	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	3	0	2	4	12
Viruela (smallpox)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	6	4	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	15	4	20
Parto (childbirth)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	6
Accidental (accidents)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	4
Gripa	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	4
Congestión alcoholico (alcoholism)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	0	3	6
Tifo (typhus)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	1
Reumatismo (rheumatism)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	1
Cardiaco (heart trouble)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	3	0	4
Cólico (colic)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	3	6
Envenenado (poisoning)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	4
Estrinimiento (intestinal obstruction)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	1
Apoplejía (apoplexy)	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	1
Enfermedad (disease)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	2
Dolor (pain)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Arma de fuego (shooting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	0	3
Erisipela (erysipelas)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	0	3
Desconocido (unknown)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	2
Tumor (tumor)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	2
Quemadura (burns)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	2
Tuberculosis (tuberculosis)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Aborto (abortion)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Neumonía fulminante (fulminating pneumonia)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Cancer (cancer)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0	2
Vómito (vomiting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Hinchazón (swelling)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Alfercía (epilepsy)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Ahorcado (hanging)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Diarrea (diarrhea)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1
Deposición (colitis etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1	1
Sarampión (measles)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1	1
Purgación (gonorrhea)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1	1

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TABLE 17.—*Death causes by summation groups of causes in 1936, 1938, 1939, and 1940*

MONTHLY DEATH RATE

Cause of death	1936												1938												1939												1940								Totals				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	1936	1938	1939	1940	Total
1. Accidents, injury, firearms				1	9	1	2						4		3			1			6	1	1	4		2	1		1	2						1								4	20	10	1	35
2. Pulmonary diseases	2		3	1	2	2	1		1		1	2	1	3	2	2		1	1		1			3	1		1	2	2	1	2		1	1		1	4							15	16	13	11	55
3. Intestinal diseases		1		1	1	1	1					1	1											1				1				5	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1		1	1	4	6	2	15	12	35
a. Bilis				1		2						1	2	3	1			1		1			2		1	2		2	2				2				2							4	11	15	13	43
4. Fevers		4	1	2	3		1	2		3	3	1	2	2			1				2	1		2	1	2		7	2	1	1			2				1						20	11	17	4	52
5. Heart										1												2		2	1	1																		1	0	7	5	13
6. Whooping cough		1							1					1	4	3				6	7	11	10	16	2		3	1																2	58	6	0	66
7. Infectious disease					1								1	1	1	1		2			3	2	6	4	1	1	2						3	1					2					1	21	8	3	33
8. Unknown														1																														0	1	0	0	1
9. Old age	1		2			1			1			1				1			1				2		1	1					2		1					1				1	1	6	4	2	1	13
10. Childbirth					1										1										1	1		1																1	2	2	0	5
Total	3	6	6	6	8	7	5	2	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	7	1	5	2	17	12	16	29	26	10	5	11	15	9	2	8	9	10	12	5	7	3	10	6	4	5	8	9	8	60	147	103	83	383

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163 The data again are not entirely reliable because
842 of a tendency not to count deceased children until urged. Almost always emotion was manifested upon recalling a specific child. Women were more commonly able to supply the names of deceased children. It is the impression of the interviewers that the data presented are fairly accurate for all children baptised but that stillbirths and perhaps death before baptism were not counted.[28]

Although most Cherán informants believed families were small through the small number of childbirths, the data indicate an average of 5.2 births per woman. No case of a childless woman was encountered in interviewing, although some exist in Cherán. If the failure to report stillbirths is taken into account, it is probable that Cherán women would rank fairly high in fertility. The small family size consequently is due to deaths rather than to lack of births. Data from the same families indicated only 2.7 children living at the time the data were collected, indicating nearly half of all children born had already died. The data are summarized in table 13.

165 Data on deaths for the years 1936, 1938, 1939, and part of 1940 are given in tables 14, 15, and 16. As might be expected, the highest death rate is in children under 1 year of age (probably higher than shown when unrecorded stillbirths are taken into account). The second highest rate is in the period from 1 to 9 years of age. For adults, the periods from 30 to 39 years and 60 to 69 years appear to be the most critical. Again, however, ages are only estimates and must not be considered as accurate.

165 The table of deaths by causes (table 16)
753 should be considered primarily of interest in showing the disease concepts prevalent in Cherán. There were no doctors in Cherán at the time these data were collected. Generally, the cause of death was provided by the relative registering the death, at the insistence of the Secretary that he had to put down something for his records to the State authorities.
[164] Epidemics of whooping cough and smallpox are clearly recorded, however.

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[858] [28] In taking a house census at Sevina, a neighboring town, the interviewers called attention to the fact that a babe in arms had not been included in the household total. Said the grandfather: "That one is too new. One hardly knows yet whether it lives or dies, so we do not count it."

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.996] Sierra Tarascans

165 753 Possibly (although not necessarily) of more significance is the summary in table 17. This summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bilis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bilis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bilis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

167 Knowledge of emigration is necessary to understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present